

Preparedness Is Main Theme of President's Message

Washington, Dec. 7.—Following is the message of President Wilson delivered today at a joint session of the senate and house:

Gentlemen of the Congress.—Since I last had the privilege of addressing you on the state of the Union the war of nations on the other side of the sea, which had then only begun to disclose its portentous proportions, has extended its threatening and sinister scope until it has swept within its flame some portion of every quarter of the globe, not excepting our own hemisphere, has altered the whole face of international affairs, and now presents a prospect of reorganization and reconstruction such as statesmen and peoples have never been called upon to attempt before.

The president tells how this country practiced neutrality and declares that he hopes that when the time comes for readjustment and reconstruction this country will be of infinite service. Referring to Central and South American problems, the president declares that we should retain unshaken the spirit which has inspired us throughout the whole life of our government and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe.

We have been put to the test in the case of Mexico, and we have stood the test. Whether we have benefited Mexico by the course we have pursued remains to be seen. Her fortunes are in her own hands. But we have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and government of our own choosing. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set and to which no bounds of a few men's choosing ought ever to be set.

Every American who has drunk at the true fountains of principle and tradition must subscribe without reservation to the high doctrine of the Virginia bill of rights, which in the great days in which our government was set up was everywhere among us accepted as the creed of free men. That doctrine is, "That government is or ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation or community;" that "of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration, and that when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal."

We have unhesitatingly applied that heroic principle to the case of Mexico and now hopefully await the rebirth of the troubled republic, which had so much of which to purge itself and so little sympathy from any outside quarter in the radical but necessary process. We will aid and defend Mexico, but we will not coerce her, and our course with regard to her ought to be sufficient proof to all America that we seek no political suzerainty or selfish control.

None of Empire's Spirit.

The moral is that the states of America are not hostile rivals, but co-operating friends, and that their growing sense of community of interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world. It presents them as in a very deep and true sense a unit in world affairs, spiritual partners, standing together because thinking together, quick with common sympathies and common ideals. Separated, they are subject to all the cross currents of the confused politics of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose, they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

This is pan-Americanism. It has none of the spirit of empire in it. It is the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service.

The president calls attention to the

meeting in Washington recently of representatives of the pan-American republics and says that economic adjustment is inevitable in the next generation.

No one who really comprehends the spirit of the great people for whom we are appointed to speak can fail to perceive that their passion is for peace, their genius best displayed in the practice of the arts of peace. Great democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is

of individual liberty and of the free labor that supports life and the unencumbered thought that quickens it. Conquest and domination are not in our reckoning or agreeable to our principles. But just because we demand unmolested development and the undisturbed government of our own lives upon our own principles of right and liberty, we resent, from whatever quarter it may come, the aggression we ourselves will not practice. We insist upon security in prosecuting our self-chosen lines of national development. We do more than that. We demand it also for others. We do not confine our enthusiasm for individual liberty and free national development to the incidents and movements of affairs which affect only ourselves. We feel it wherever there is a people that tries to walk in these difficult paths of independence and right. From the first we have made common cause with all partisans of liberty on this side the sea and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside domination as that we ourselves should be; have set America aside as a whole for the uses of independent nations and political freedom.

Out of such thoughts grow all our policies. We regard war merely as a means of asserting the rights of a people against aggression. And we are as fiercely jealous of coercive or dictatorial power within our own nation as of aggression from without. We will not maintain a standing army except for uses which are as necessary in times of peace as in times of war.

Suggests Broad Plan.

But war has never been a mere matter of men and guns. It is a thing of disciplined might. If our citizens are ever to fight effectively upon a sudden summons, they must know how modern fighting is done, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available and immediately effective. And the government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and of it. The military arm of their government, which they will not allow to direct them, they may properly use to serve them and make their independence secure, and not their own independence merely, but the rights also of those with whom they have made common cause, should they also be put in jeopardy. They must be fitted to play the great role in the world, and particularly in this hemisphere, for which they are qualified by principle and by chastened ambition to play.

It is with these ideals in mind that the plans of the department of war for more adequate national defense were conceived which will be laid before you, and which I urge you to sanction and put into effect as soon as they can be properly scrutinized and discussed. They seem to me the essential first steps, and they seem to me for the present sufficient.

They contemplate an increase of the standing force of the regular army from its present strength of 5,023 officers and 102,985 enlisted men, or 141,843 all told, all services, rank and file, by the addition of fifty-two companies of coast artillery, fifteen companies of engineers, ten regiments of infantry, four regiments of field artillery and four aero squadrons, besides 750 officers required for a great variety of extra service, especially the all important duty of training the citizen force of which I shall presently speak. 732 non-commissioned officers for service in drill, recruiting and the like and the necessary quota of enlisted men for the quartermaster corps, the hospital

corps, the ordnance department and other similar auxiliary services. These are the additions necessary to render the army adequate for its present duties, duties which it has to perform not only upon our own continental coasts and borders and at our interior army posts, but also in the Philippines, in the Hawaiian Islands, at the isthmus and in Porto Rico.

By way of making the country ready to assert some part of its real power promptly and upon a larger scale should occasion arise the plan also contemplates supplementing the army by a force of 40,000 disciplined citizens, raised in increments of 133,000 a year throughout a period of three years. This it is proposed to do by a process of enlistment under which the serviceable men of the country would be asked to bind themselves to serve with the colors for purposes of training for short periods throughout three years and to come to the colors at call at any time throughout an additional "furlough" period of three years. This force of 400,000 men would be provided with personal accoutrements as fast as enlisted and their equipment for the field made ready to be supplied at any time. They would be assembled for training at stated intervals at convenient places in association with suitable units of the regular army. Their period of annual training would not necessarily exceed two months in the year.

The president says it is up to the patriotic young men of the country to respond to this call.

For Greater Navy.

The program which will be laid before you by the secretary of the navy is similarly conceived. It involves only a shortening of the time within which plans long matured shall be carried out, but it does make definite and explicit a program which has heretofore been only implicit, held in the minds of the committees on naval affairs and disclosed in the debates of the two houses, but nowhere formulated or formally adopted. It seems to me very clear that it will be to the advantage of the country for the congress to adopt a comprehensive plan for putting the navy upon a final footing of strength and efficiency and to press that plan to completion within the next five years. We have always looked to the navy of the country as our first and chief line of defense; we have always seen it to be our manifest course of prudence to be strong on the seas. Year by year we have been creating a navy which now ranks very high indeed among the navies of the maritime nations. We should now definitely determine how we shall complete what we have begun and how soon.

The program to be laid before you contemplates the construction within five years of ten battleships, six battle cruisers, ten scout cruisers, fifty destroyers, fifteen fleet submarines, eighty-five coast submarines, four gunboats, one hospital ship, two ammunition ships, two fuel oil ships and one repair ship. It is proposed that of this number we shall the first year provide for the construction of two battleships, two battle cruisers, three scout cruisers, fifteen destroyers, five fleet submarines, twenty-five coast submarines, two gunboats and one hospital ship; the second year two battleships, one scout cruiser, ten destroyers, four fleet submarines, fifteen coast submarines, one gunboat and one fuel oil ship; the third year two battleships, one battle cruiser, two scout cruisers, five destroyers, two fleet submarines and fifteen coast submarines; the fourth year two battleships, two battle cruisers, two scout cruisers, ten destroyers, two fleet submarines, fifteen coast submarines, one gunboat, one ammunition ship and one repair ship.

The secretary of the navy is asking also for the immediate addition to the personnel of the navy of 7,500 sailors, 2,500 apprentice seamen and 1,500 marines. This increase would be sufficient to care for the ships which are to be completed within the fiscal year 1917 and also for the number of men which must be put in training to man the ships which will be completed early in 1918. It is also necessary that the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy at Annapolis should be increased by at least 300 in order that the force of officers should be more rapidly added to, and authority is asked to appoint, for engineering duties only, approved graduates of engineering colleges, and for service in the aviation corps a certain number of men taken from civil life.

If this full program should be carried out we should have built or building in 1921, according to the estimates of survival and standards of classification followed by the general board of the department, an effective navy consisting of 27 battleships of the first line, 6 battle cruisers, 25 battleships of the second line, 10 armored cruisers, 12 scout cruisers, 5 first class cruisers, 3 second class cruisers, 10 third class cruisers, 108 destroyers, 15 fleet submarines, 157 coast submarines, 6 monitors, 20 gunboats, 4 supply ships, 15 fuel ships, 4 transport, 3 tenders to torpedo vessels, 8 vessels of special types and two ammunition ships. This would be a navy fitted to our needs and worthy of our traditions.

But armies and instruments of war are only part of what has to be considered if we are to consider the supreme matter of national self-sufficiency and security in all its aspects. There are other great matters which will be thrust upon our attention whether we will or not. There is, for example, a very pressing question of trade and shipping involved in this great problem of national adequacy. It is necessary for many weighty reasons of national efficiency and development that we should have a great merchant marine. The great merchant fleet we once used to make us rich, that great body of sturdy sailors who

used to carry our flag into every sea, and who were the pride and often the bulwark of the nation, we have almost driven out of existence by inexcusable neglect and indifference and by a hopelessly blind and provincial policy of so called economic protection. It is high time we repaired our mistake and resumed our commercial independence on the seas.

With a view to meeting these pressing necessities of our commerce and availing ourselves at the earliest possible moment of the present unparalleled opportunity of linking the two Americas together in bonds of mutual interest and service, an opportunity which may never return again if we miss it now, proposals will be made to the present congress for the purchase or construction of ships to be owned and directed by the government similar to those made to the last congress, but modified in some essential particulars. I recommend these proposals to you for your prompt acceptance with the more confidence because every month that has elapsed since the former proposals were made has made the necessity for such action more and more manifestly imperative. That need was then foreseen. It is now acutely felt and everywhere realized by those for whom trade is waiting, but who can find no conveyance for their goods. I am not so much interested in the particulars of the program as I am in taking immediate advantage of the great opportunity which awaits us if we will but act in this emergency. In this matter, as in all others, a spirit of common counsel should prevail, and out of it should come an early solution of this pressing problem.

Policy in the Philippines.

The president recommends the early adoption of bills for the alteration and reform of the government of the Philippines and for rendering fuller political justice to the people of Porto Rico,



Photo by American Press Association.
PRESIDENT WILSON'S LATEST PICTURE.
(From snapshot taken on Nov. 25.)

which were submitted to the Sixty-third congress. The president refers to the increased cost of carrying out the plans for the armed forces of the nation and tells of the fiscal problems confronting the government.

On the 30th of June last there was an available balance in the general fund of the treasury of \$104,170,105.78. The total estimated receipts for the year 1916, on the assumption that the emergency revenue measure passed by the last congress will not be extended beyond its present limit, the 31st of December, 1915, and that the present duty of 1 cent per pound on sugar will be discontinued after the 1st of May, 1916, will be \$670,365,500. The balance of June last and these estimated revenues come therefore to a grand total of \$774,535,605.78. The total estimated disbursements for the present fiscal year, including twenty-five millions for the Panama canal, twelve millions for probable deficiency appropriations and \$50,000 for miscellaneous debt redemptions, will be \$733,891,000, and the balance will be reduced to \$20,644,605.78. The emergency revenue act if continued beyond its present time limitation would produce during the half year then remaining about forty-one millions. The duty of 1 cent per pound on sugar if continued would produce during the two months of the fiscal year remaining after the 1st of May about fifteen millions. These two sums, amounting together to fifty-six millions, if added to the revenues of the second half of the fiscal year would yield the treasury at the end of the year an available balance of \$76,644,605.78.

The additional revenues required to carry out the program of military and naval preparation of which I have spoken would, as at present estimated, be for the fiscal year 1917 \$30,800,000. These figures, taken with the figures for the present fiscal year which I have already given, disclose our financial problem for the year 1917. Assuming that the taxes imposed by the emergency revenue act and the present duty on sugar are to be discontinued and that the balance at the close of the present fiscal year will be only \$20,644,605.78, that the disbursements for the Panama canal will again be about \$25,000,000 and that the additional expenditures for the army and navy are authorized by the congress, the deficit in the general fund of the treasury on the 30th of June, 1917, will be nearly \$225,000,000. To this sum at least \$50,000,000 should be added to represent a safe working balance for the treasury and \$12,000,000 to include the usual deficiency estimates in 1917, and these additions would make a total deficit of some \$267,000,000. If the present taxes should be continued throughout this year and the next, however, there would be a balance in the treasury of some \$75,000,000 at the end of the present fiscal year and a deficit at the end of the next year of only some \$50,000,000, or, reckoning in \$22,000,000 for deficiency appropriations and a safe treasury balance at the end of the year, a total deficit of some \$112,000,000. The obvious moral of the figures is that it is a plain counsel of prudence to continue all of the present taxes or their equivalents and confine ourselves to the problem of providing \$112,000,000 of new revenue rather than \$267,000,000.

How shall we obtain the new revenue? We are frequently reminded that there are many millions of bonds which the treasury is authorized under existing law to sell to reimburse the sums paid out of current revenues for the construction of the Panama canal, and it is true that bonds for the amount of \$222,432,000 are now available for that purpose. Prior to 1913 \$138,000,000 of these bonds had actually been sold to recoup the expenditures at the isthmus, and now constitute a considerable item of the public debt. But I for one do not believe that the people of this country approve of postponing the payment of their bills. Borrowing money is shortsighted finance. It can be justified only when permanent things are to be accomplished which many generations will certainly benefit by and which it seems hardly fair that a single generation should pay for. The objects we are now proposing to spend money for cannot be so classified, except in the sense that everything wisely done may be said to be done in the interest of posterity as well as in our own. It seems to me a clear dictate of prudent statesmanship and frank finance that in what we are now, I hope, about to undertake we should pay as we go. The people of the country are entitled to know just what burdens of taxation they are to carry and to know from the outset now. The new bills should be paid by internal taxation.

Secret Foes Should Be Crushed.

The president says that the precise reckonings of the problem to be met are set forth in the report of the secretary of the treasury.

I have spoken to you today, gentlemen, upon a single theme, the thorough preparation of the nation to care for its own security and to make sure of entire freedom to play the impartial role in this hemisphere and in the world which we all believe to have been providentially assigned to it. I have had in my mind no thought of any immediate or particular danger arising out of our relations with other nations. We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and there is reason to hope that no question in controversy between this and other governments will lead to any serious breach of amicable relations, grave as some differences of attitude and policy have been and may yet turn out to be. I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags, but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our

national life, who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them and to debase our politics to the uses of foreign intrigue. Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts by which our nation has been enriched in recent generations out of virile foreign stocks, but it is great enough to have brought deep disgrace upon us and to have made it necessary that we should promptly make use of processes of law by which we may be purged of their corrupt distempers.

America never witnessed anything like this before. It never dreamed it possible that men sworn into its own citizenship, men drawn out of great free stocks such as supplied some of the best and strongest elements of that little, but how heroic, nation that in a high day of old staked its very life to free itself from every entanglement that had darkened the fortunes of the older nations and set up a new standard here—that men of such origins and such free choices of allegiance would ever turn in malignant reaction against the government and people who had welcomed and nurtured them and seek to make this proud country once more a hothed of European passion. A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. Because it was incredible we made no preparation for it. We would have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, our own comrades and neighbors! But the ugly and incredible thing has actually come about, and we are without adequate federal laws to deal with it. I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment and feel that in doing so I am urging you to do nothing less than save the honor and self respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty and anarchy must be crushed out. They are not many, but they are infinitely malignant, and the hand of our power should close over them at once. They have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the government, they have sought to pry into every confidential transaction of the government in order to serve interests alien to our own. It is possible to deal with these things very effectively. I need not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with.

I wish that it could be said that only a few men, misled by mistaken sentiments of allegiance to the governments under which they were born, had been guilty of disturbing the self possession and misrepresenting the temper and principles of the country during these days of terrible war, when it would seem that every man who was truly an American would instinctively make it his duty and his pride to keep the scales of judgment even and prove himself a partisan of no nation but his own. But it cannot. There are some men among us and many resident abroad who, though born and bred in the United States and calling themselves Americans, have so forgotten themselves and their honor as citizens as to put their passionate sympathy with one or the other side in the great European conflict above their regard for the peace and dignity of the United States. They also preach and practice disloyalty. No laws, I suppose, can reach corruptions of the mind and heart, but I should not speak of others without also speaking of these and expressing the even deeper humiliation and scorn which every self possessed and thoughtfully patriotic American must feel when he thinks of them and of the discredit they are daily bringing upon us.

What is more important is that the industries and resources of the country should be available and ready for mobilization. It is the more imperative necessary, therefore, that we should promptly devise means for doing what we have not yet done—that

we should give intelligent federal aid and stimulation to industrial and vocational education, as we have long done in the large field of our agricultural industry; that at the same time that we safeguard and conserve the natural resources of the country we should put them at the disposal of those who will use them promptly and intelligently, as was sought to be done in the admirable bills submitted to the last congress from its committees on the public lands, bills which I earnestly recommend in principle to your consideration; that we should put into early operation some provision for rural credits which will add to the extensive borrowing facilities already afforded the farmer by the reserve bank act adequate instrumentalities by which long credits may be obtained on land mortgages and that we should study more carefully than they have hitherto been studied the right adaptation of our economic arrangements to changing conditions.

Many conditions about which we have repeatedly legislated are being altered from decade to decade, it is evident, under our very eyes and are likely to change even more rapidly and more radically in the days immediately ahead of us when peace has returned to the world and the nations of Europe once more take up their tasks of commerce and industry with the energy of those who must bestir themselves to build anew.

To Meet Railroad Problem.

In the meantime may I make this suggestion? The transportation problem is an exceedingly serious and pressing one in this country. There has from time to time of late been reason to fear that our railroads would not much longer be able to cope with it successfully, as at present equipped and co-ordinated. I suggest that it would be wise to provide for a commission of inquiry to ascertain by a thorough canvass of the whole question whether our laws as at present framed and administered are as serviceable as they might be in the solution of the problem. It is obviously a problem that lies at the very foundation of our efficiency as a people. Such an inquiry ought to draw out every circumstance and opinion worth considering, and we need to know all sides of the matter if we mean to do anything in the field of federal legislation.

No one, I am sure, would wish to take any backward step. The regulation of the railways of the country by federal commission has had admirable results and has fully justified the hopes and expectations of those by whom the policy of regulation was originally proposed. The question is not, What should we undo? It is whether there is anything else we can do that would supply us with effective means, in the very process of regulation, for bettering the conditions under which the railroads are operated and for making them more useful servants of the country as a whole. It seems to me that it might be the part of wisdom, therefore, before further legislation in this field is attempted, to look at the whole problem of co-ordination and efficiency in the full light of a fresh assessment of circumstance and opinion, as a guide to dealing with the several parts of it.

For what we are seeking now, what in my mind is the single thought of this message, is national efficiency and security. We serve a great nation. We should serve it in the spirit of its peculiar genius. It is the genius of common men for self government, industry, justice, liberty and peace. We should see to it that it lacks no instrument, no facility or rigor of law, to make it sufficient to play its part with energy, safety and assured success. In this we are no partisans but heralds and prophets of a new age.

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